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Maud Russell

INTRODUCTION

"What's happening in China?" "Is it true that the conservatives have succeeded in simmering down the revolution?" "Is China in chaos?" "Is China 'returning to normal'?" "Has the economy suffered grievously?" These are some of the questions that people have been asking.

So let's start by putting in perspective the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution before going on to answer questions that are in the minds of enquirers and readers who for two years have been fed dire tales about the cultural revolution.

THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION IN PERSPECTIVE

The Chinese people are in the process of building a socialist society, and eventually a fully communist society. The People's Republic of China was established in 1949, but that was just a starting point in one of many stages in the building of their new society.

The kind of society on which the Chinese people are at work demands that its political and ideological institutions and thinking be consistent with its economic base. The development of the Chinese Revolution, its economic and political consolidation, had strengthened itself to the point where it was able (and also necessary) to advance further by a basic remoulding of its cultural institutions (in education, the arts and other spheres) and in the thinking of its people. This remoulding basically challenges the age-old carry-over of deeply ingrained modes of thinking, prejudices, habits, customs and motivations inherited from thousands of years of class society. For the time being, accordingly, the central emphasis at this stage of the cultural revolution is on this cultural-ideological change-over to communist modes of thinking and the creation of cultural institutions of a communist character.

Important Things To Note

There are two important things to note about this Cultural Revolution. The first is: it is a cultural revolution, not a cultural "movement"; as the Chinese say, "It is not a tea party". A revolution means struggle, turmoil, chaos, fighting, disruption, sabotage, factionalism. The cultural revolution has had all of these. Revolution involves counter-revolution, and China's counter-revolutionaries have not "taken it lying down". The revolution has exposed, challenged, struggled against those in positions of political, of economic and of ideological power who were watering down socialism in China, who deliberately worked for a bourgeois order. As officials in the Party or in Government, as responsible people in industry or in the communes, as responsible Party cadres, as cultural and academic "authorities" - these counter-revolutionaries used their positions of power to resist the strengthening of the socialist base. The Chinese correctly call it the Great Proletarian Cultural **REVOLUTION**.

The second thing to note is the source of the news in our American press about the "chaos", "turmoil", "struggle", "fighting", "disruption", "sabotage", "factionalism". This news does not come from secret sources, though reports often create that impression. The bourgeois press sees mainly the destructive aspects of these counter-revolutionary actions. The Chinese leadership, far from denying the harmful aspects, sees the preeminently constructive aspects - the struggle which exposes anti-socialist individuals and actions, the struggle which engages and enlightens the great masses of the people. These news items come from official reports in the Chinese Government and Party publications, and from quotes from national and local newspapers and tabloids in China. In other words, "chaos, struggle, disruption, fighting, turmoil, sabotage, factionalism" are recognized parts of revolutionary struggle, officially and publicly presented and discussed by the Party and Government leaders.

Here are some examples of sources of news about struggle in China. In February 1968 Chou En-lai addressed 10,000 representatives of economic organizations in Peking, and said, "In the whole of last year the chaos created by the capitalist-roaders, manipulation by bad people, and sabotage by the enemy could not but affect our industrial and communications centers. Armed fights occured, factory and mining equipment was damaged, and stoppages of work or slow-downs were reported. (NYT 4/25/68) Here was an official and public recognition of counter-revolutionary activity. The fact that 10,000 representatives of economic organizations could come together for a conference in the capital indicates something about stability and normality, even in the midst of revolution.

"At a reception for representatives of the Defense Ministry Chou En-lai condemned rival factions for continuing to 'fight it out' within the 7th Ministry of Machine Building which supplies equipment for the air force. He admitted that arms intended for Vietnam had been seized by one group; he added that in a subsequent clash 10,000 shells were fired." (NYT 4/25/68 quoting from a Chinese newspaper)

"In May 1968 Chou En-lai spoke to 6000 transport workers, saying that traffic was blocked at three major railway junctions, disclosing that conflicts and sabotage among workers had blocked or slowed rail traffic. The text of his speech was published in a Red Flag Bulletin (official Party publication...ed). (NYT 7/10/68)

In August 1968 a Party Directive was issued: that work must be restored, railroad traffic and train service must be restored, armed struggle must cease, looted material must be returned in toto. (CSM 8/1/68)

"Red Guard tabloids and wall newspapers, the unofficial press of China since the start of the cultural revolution, have reported serious clashes between opposing factions." (NYT 9/7/68) and the Times goes on

to quote Hsinhwa, the Chinese press agency, writing about the formation of a revolutionary committee in Sinkiang - "National splittists, persons who have illicit relations with foreign countries, dregs of Kuomintang reactionaries and landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and rightists who have not been sufficiently reformed - these have engaged in sabotage. The class struggle there is extremely complex."

"Trouble in Shanghai was reflected in a broadcast today in the daily Wen Hui Pao which berated resistance to 'remould themselves'. The paper warned that those who do not admit their mistakes and integrate themselves with the workers would have no future. It criticised those who sought to escape reckoning by running away... A number of provincial radio broadcasts have denounced the attitude of some student Red Guards who question the right of workers to give them revolutionary guidance." (NYT 9/29/68)

Revolution involves counter-revolution; open recognition and discussion of this is a part of the political and ideological education the Chinese people are gaining in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION GOES ON

The struggle against the counter-revolutionaries goes on, though less violent and widespread than in the earlier period. Even in the summer of 1967 a group of Australians on their way home from China, meeting with some Americans in a discussion group in Moscow, discounted the intensity or spread of counter-revolutionary activity. In August 1968 the Chief of the Agence France-Presse Bureau in Peking, Edourd Dillon, reporting on a 1430 mile journey across China from south to north, wrote, "As far as can be judged from the window of a sleeping car, rural China is calm and orderly, with ripening crops everywhere; I crossed five provinces -

Kwangtung, Hunan, Hupeh, Honan, Hopeh. The impression I got was that, however serious the revolutionary upheavels may have been in certain regions, they are far from affecting the whole country...I did not see a single scene of violence throughout my trip."(NYT 8/1/68)

"In our country bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology, anti-Marxist ideology, will continue to exist for a long time. Basically the socialist system has been established in our country. We have won the basic victory in transforming the means of production, but we have not yet won complete victory on the political, and ideological fronts. In the ideological field the question of who will win the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie has not been really settled yet. It is wrong not to understand this and to give up ideological struggle. All erroneous ideas, all poisonous weeds, all ghosts and monsters, must be subjected to criticism; in no circumstances should they be allowed to spread unchecked. However, the criticism should be fully reasoned, analytical and convincing, and not rough, bureaucratic, metaphysical or dogmatic."(Mao Tse-tung)

THE GAINS OF THE REVOLUTION SO FAR

The gains as seen from a British source. "While Western commentators see only 'chaos' and 'floundering' in Communist China, the great majority of the people everywhere who desire social change can see an inspiring revolutionary upsurge showing how to avoid the dangers that follow liberation. They can see that under the guidance of Mao, in each stage of the Cultural Revolution, all participants have been strengthened"(emphasis added....ed) "The youthful Red Guards, far from falling into cynicism or dissipating their energies, have responded whole-heartedly to the call to integrate themselves with workers and peasants. In factories and mines workers have learned that personal economic benefits are not the measure of socialist advance, but may

retard it through encouraging self-interest. They have learned that it is vital to recognize who is for and who is against socialism - who are their friends and who are their enemies. In the country-side the peasants have learned through their own struggles against those who wish to restore capitalism that they themselves are responsible for safe-guarding and advancing socialism; they have learned the truth of Mao's saying that 'the people are the makers of history'".

"Millions of ordinary men and women have come to understand, under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung and especially in the cultural revolution, that the class struggle persists under socialism and that, in the last analysis, the socialist revolution can be protected and developed only by the efforts of the mass of workers and peasants."(Broadsheet, London,9/68)

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution began in 1966. A year later, the New York Times was writing about the "gains" of the cultural revolution; it listed 1)"the arrest of the trend toward a restoration of capitalism; 2)the exposure of the 'bourgeois headquarters' within the Communist Party; 3) the Chinese people are establishing the authority of Marxism, Leninism, The Thought of Mao Tse-tung; 4) the Chinese doctrine of making revolution has been dramatically handed on to the guerrilla movements throughout Asia, Africa and Latin America."(8/27/67)

By any one's measurement these "gains" are truly world-shaking. The force of the seven hundred million Chinese people's cultural revolution is shaking the foundations of bourgeois society. In 1949 China shook the world by throwing off feudalism, colonialism and bureaucratic capitalism. Today the Chinese people are laying the firm foundation for socialism. Seven hundred million Chinese firmly grounded in the ideology of their new society are a significant and world-shaking factor not only for their quarter of the world's people, not only for "Asia, Africa and Latin America" but for all mankind.

CURRENT ASPECTS OF THE ONGOING CULTURAL REVOLUTION

A New Political Structure

A major current aspect of the ongoing cultural revolution is the setting up of a new political administrative structure - the "Three-Way-Alliance" - governing bodies composed of representatives of revolutionary leaders, Party cadres and the military. These new governing bodies are called "Revolutionary Committees". The first revolutionary committee was organized in Heilungchiang on January 31st 1967. A year later, by January 1968, five revolutionary committees had been established. By June 1968 the new political structures had been established in 21 areas. It was not until the 6th of September 1968 that the formation of the final two revolutionary committees, in Tibet and Sinkiang, was announced, thus completing the process in all the 29 major areas (21 provinces, 3 major cities, and 5 autonomous regions).

These new political structures, the Revolutionary Committees, evolved out of political and ideological struggle. They are not the result of any dictate of the Communist Party or order of the Government. They involved a two year struggle between revolutionaries and counter-revolutionaries - on provincial, municipal and regional levels. They are the product of intense democratic action by the vast majority of the Chinese people. They represent the putting into practice by the Communist Party, other organizations and the Government of the mass-line - reliance on the people.

Red Flag official publication of the Chinese Communist Party, editorialized about people's power: "The present struggle to seize power..is a mass movement from below, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. In the revolutionary committees, the 'three-in-one' provisional organs of power, it is imperative to give full play to the role of the leaders of the revolutionary organizations and to take full account of their opinions, and never regard them simply as secondary, for they

represent the broad revolutionary masses. If their role is denied or underrated, the revolutionary masses as well as the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution are in fact negated." (Red Flag No 5 1967)

A New Educational System

Another major current aspect of the ongoing cultural revolution is the discarding of the old system of education and the clearing of the way for the setting up of a new, a socialist educational system. The old system of education, largely an import from the West, was continued after the establishment of the new China in 1949. This of course was basically a bourgeois educational system: the then available educational personnel and authorities were overwhelmingly the products of the bourgeois education they had received, so much so that education in the new China was monopolized by bourgeois intellectuals. Some of the bourgeois emphasis in education was inescapable, given the available teaching personnel; much of the bourgeois emphasis was deliberate on the part of faculty members who, as collaborators with the "bourgeois headquarters" in the Communist Party, were using their position as teachers and professors to discount socialism and instill bourgeois ideas and incentives in their students.

In fact, it was student opposition to these bourgeois professors that initiated the Red Guard movement - students more grounded in socialist ideology who were coming to realize what kind of "education" these capitalist-minded teachers were promoting - emphasizing "fame", "career" "position" "privilege", paying great attention to students from pre-liberation intellectual families but denigrating students who came from working or peasant families.

The student attack on this bourgeois tendency and on the anti-socialist plot among the "educatiional authorities" led to the closing of institutions of higher learning for over a year after the start of the cultural revolution.

People who lament the "loss of education" by the millions of Red Guards during this period fail to see that what was "lost" was schooling (and counter-revolutionary schooling at that) - not education. What those millions of Red Guards got from their activities in the cultural revolution was indeed education - a kind of education no text books, no teachers, no schooling could have given them - revolutionary education for sharing in the building of their socialist society.

The universities and colleges have reopened; the students have come back, not to the old educational pattern, but to participate in working out and setting up a new educational system, not a bourgeois but a socialist educational system.

These youth have been the shock troops of the cultural revolution; they have been out among the people; they have worked with the farmers in the fields; they have traveled the length and breadth of their country; they have initiated mass expression and discussion with their encouraging of "big-character-posters"; they have experienced the deceptions, the brutalities, the exploitations of the counter-revolutionaries; they have been through factional struggles with each other; they have tested out much of the Thought of Mao Tse-tung; they have matured in struggle.

This to-be new educational system is not being imposed from the top; no pattern is handed down, ready-made by the Party or the Government. It is being worked out by the people - students, teachers, workers, peasants, soldiers.

While the students were involved in Red Guard activities - while they were learning and maturing, being truly educated in struggle - there was never any thought of permanent closing of universities. Indeed, during this period when university education was suspended, students and teachers were meeting to discuss the form and content of a new educational system. Millions returned to their schools, ready for socialist education.

The universities began opening in the fall of 1967. Various universities began locally to experiment with new forms of education, new content, new approaches and emphases. Here again, as in the setting up of the new political structure, there was no pattern handed down: local initiative, local experience, local personnel went to work. A fresh personnel entered into the experimenting: factory workers. No longer was the formal educational pattern to be the preserve of teachers and administrators - but students, faculty, and workers all became teachers and administrators, working on and trying out what they figured would insure socialist education.

This ideological revolution in education aims at overcoming the age-long class society division of labor between manual and mental labor - the "severance" of the hand from the head. For some time China has stressed the "two participations" - workers doing intellectual work and intellectuals doing manual work.

The leading force in the ideological revolution, as well as in every phase of Chinese society, is the working class in alliance with the poor and middle class peasants, that is of poor and middle class peasant background.

The latest development in this process of creating a new educational system was the setting up in the summer of 1968 of "Worker, Peasant, Soldier Teams". "These teams have emerged as a potent force of the cultural revolution. They have been active in schools and factories; they also go into hospitals, science and research centers, art and literature centers, publishing houses and even various government departments."(NYT 8/25/68) "These teams are establishing their dominion over educational and cultural establishments; many hundreds, from universities to primary schools, have been taken over."(NYT 9/3/68)

These are not hit-and-miss workers, peasants and soldiers intruding into educational establishments; the

members of these teams are chosen for their experience of class struggle, their experience in the struggle for production, for their participation in the cultural revolution; and before entering the colleges to work with the students and teachers they attend preparatory classes.

Skilled workers who never went to college but who have made creditable technological innovations in industry, peasants whose revolutionary thinking has been steeled in struggle against feudal exploiters, soldiers whose intense ideological studying has been applied in fighting counter-revolutionaries(from Chiang Kai-shek on) - all these have something to teach the students, something to contribute to the setting up of the new education.

As all - students, teachers, workers, peasants, soldiers - study and discuss together respect grows and all gain a deepened understanding of the Thought of Mao Tse-tung: what it has meant in the struggle for China's freedom and what it can mean in the current stage of the cultural revolution. As students become acquainted with peasants who experienced the old feudal conditions, as students come to accept the fact that workers have technical capabilities, as students learn from soldiers who won the new China and as workers, peasants and soldiers become familiar with the procedures and problems of formal education, all are wedded together in the shared understanding, the shared task, and in the unity as workers in a people's China.

"The workers and peasants are the basic revolutionary force and the workers are the class which leads the revolution. Our country has seven hundred million people and the working class is the leading class. Its leading role in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and in all fields of work should be brought into full play." (Mao) China realizes that the Red Guards can have a sound future and carry the cultural revolution to the end only by integrating themselves with the main force, the workers, peasants and soldiers and by arming themselves with the Thought of Mao Tse-tung.

A socialist society is a society ruled by the working class. The Chinese people, in their cultural revolution, including the setting up of a new educational system, are in the process of consolidating the leadership of the working class. This participation of workers, peasants and soldiers in the formal educational system assures the remoulding of youth and the integration of the youth as working class intellectuals. These youth are the coming rulers; their Red Guard activities served to turn millions of youth - youth who had been in schools dominated by bourgeois intellectuals - from a potential reserve of reaction into the initial spearhead of a revolution dedicated to socialism. The new socialist educational system will serve to qualify them for working class leadership of their country.

Contrast China's approach to its youth with what happened in the labor movement struggle in the United States. Through bitter, bloody struggles American workers won the right to organize, won the eight hour day, the five-day week, "fringe benefits". Their sons have inherited these benefits, but they did not take on the heritage of struggle; they accepted the hard-won benefits of revolutionary struggle but not its ideology. The Chinese are wise: they know their youth must receive working class education, not bourgeois education. "Two kinds of education train up two kinds of successors of the revolution - proletarian education trains up reliable successors; bourgeois education trains up bourgeois intellectual aristocrats who would negate the revolution."(Peking Review 8/9/68)

The Worker, Peasant, Soldier Team participation not only remoulds, trains and integrates student youth for revolutionary action and leadership but "in the course of fulfilling their mission **the working class itself** will be profoundly steeled in the class struggle and a group of outstanding worker-cadres will emerge, not merely to manage the schools but to strengthen every aspect of the state organs and the Revolutionary Committees at all levels." (Peking Review 8/30/68)

The Peking Daily writes: "The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has opened up an unprecedently broad road for young intellectuals to integrate themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers. The Red Guards and all educated youth should make the workers their teachers, steadily remould themselves in the course of protracted class struggle, earnestly accept the leadership of the working class....They should make up their minds to become proletarian revolutionaries who are determined to carry the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution to the end, along with the workers, peasants and soldiers, seize all-around victory, learn modestly from the workers and peasants and the Liberation Army; they should repudiate the counter-revolutionary revisionist educational line and the different bourgeois reactionary fallacies of looking down on workers, peasants and soldiers."(8/18/68)

Some of the Western press sees this integration of students with workers, peasants and soldiers as "the Red Guards fading out as a political force in China." (NYT 8/1/68) An editorial in the official Peking People's Daily correctly sets the role of youth: it "praised the vanguard role played by millions of Red Guards over the country" and added that "the hallmark today of whether a youth is revolutionary is whether he is willing to integrate himself with the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and do so in practice. Ours is a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and it does not need intellectuals to look down upon workers and peasants. Therefore the Red Guards and all educated young people should make the workers their teachers, steadily reform themselves in the course of long class struggle, earnestly accepting the leadership of the working class and conscientiously study Mao Tse-tung's Thought.."

"The Shanghai Wen Hui Pao made it clear that the Teams, not the student Red Guards, are to lead the current phase of the cultural revolution."(NYT 8/25/68)

It is recognized that "These Teams will not have an easy task, particularly in the fields of education, art and literature, the fields which have been a stubborn bulwark of the bourgeois class and bourgeois academic authority." (Shanghai wen Hui Pao NYT 8/25/68) These Team members will also be learning, will be students in the process of building the new, the socialist educational system system. As Mao Tse-tung says, "The working class should also continuously enhance its political consciousness in the course of the struggle."

THE ONGOING CULTURAL REVOLUTION FUNDAMENTALLY BROADENS AND DEEPENS WORKERS' DEMOCRACY

The cultural revolution has demonstrated and enhanced the democratic process in China. It was fundamentally the people, not any secret police, or FBI, who exposed and struggled against the counter-revolutionaries. It is the people's revolutionary experience, not any arbitrary imposition from the Party or Government, that is establishing the authority of their socialist ideology.

The current processes of democracy - avenues of popular expression, study groups, self-criticism movements, popular-level organizations - are continuing the cultural revolution by intensifying the practice of democracy - all providing ways in which the people themselves are undergirding and deepening their committment to their socialist ideology.

Avenues of popular expression give the people the chance to criticise, to suggest, to expose counter-revolutionary actions and individuals. The "big-character-posters" which plastered the country during the early period continue to be avenues of the popular voice. Mass rallies force officials, Party, factory and commune leaders to face and listen to the people. Publications and newspapers exist by the hundreds - expressing many views, many criticisms, many suggestions. "Some hundred different factions and organizations in Canton are known to produce publications of some kind. Recent radio

broadcasts from Chengtu referred to sixty tabloids in Chungking and thirty in Chengtu. Travelers from Peking and Shanghai say scores are issued in each of these cities."(NYT 7/2/68) In fact, as noted above, news of turmoil, chaos, fighting, factions, etc quoted in the American press, come from these mainland newspapers and tabloids.

Then there are the study groups - not only are students studying but the mass of the people as well. "In factories, restaurants, offices and schools, tens of thousands of people are preoccupied with group study classes. They not only try to find ways of applying Mao Tse-tung's Thought to their work, but they also strive as individuals to eradicate unwholesome'revisionist' cravings. A preliminary goal is to turn the overwhelming majority of the Chinese people into individuals dedicated to the concept of public service."(NYT 4/28/68) This is a part of the cultural revolution's continuing process of changing people's incentives from feudal and bourgeois incentives to the incentives of the new society - from personal incentives (fame, fortune, privileged position) to social incentives, the creating of a society that benefits all.

Another current aspect of democracy in the ongoing cultural revolution is the "struggle-criticism-transformation" movement. This is a part of the process of establishing the rule of the people, the rule of the workers. For example, the steps in a factory would be "establishing a revolutionary committee based on the three-in-one combination, mass criticism and repudiation, purifying the class ranks, rectifying Party organization, simplifying organizational structure, changing irrational rules and regulations, and sending people who work in offices to grass-roots levels."(Peking Review 8/30/68) Here is a local-level process that carries out a basic slogan of the revolution: "replace dictatorship of the bourgeoisie with dictatorship of the proletariat".

In a commune area the "three-in-one combination is composed of representatives of peasants of poor and lower middle background, cadres of the commune production brigades and activists among students and teachers. To give an example of procedure from one commune: the members worked out a six-point program for managing the schools, a program that integrated peasants, students, teachers and parents. Point one provided for a monthly meeting of the three-in-one combination to sum up the work of the previous month and map out plans for the current month. Point two provided for a monthly forum called at the end of the month by the production teams, with revolutionary teachers and students and poor and lower middle peasant taking part - to review how Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on education is being carried out, and to review the connection between the schools and the production teams. Point three provided for the production brigade and the production teams to include school work on the agenda of their meetings and for the schools to concern themselves with the work of the production teams - to insure a closer relationship between students and teachers and the peasants. Point four provided for the production brigade and and the school to make concerted efforts to do good political and ideological work among the teachers, students and their parents. Point five provided that the peasants give lectures to the students; and that the students take part in productive labor in an organized and systematic way. Point six provided that the schools and the production teams cooperate in beginning to educate the children before they reach school age. (NCNA 9/11/68)

The three-in-one combination provides for democratic representation on the higher levels of government (revolutionary committees in provincial, municipal, and regional ares). Also on the local level where the individual functions in daily life it is through these alliances, this revolutionary structure, that the people are carrying on the struggle against counter-revolution and assuring the rule of the workers.

These popular-level alliances involve every one in the process of building a socialist China. They also serve to create new people - citizens grounded in and committed to the basic philosophy of their socialist society. From this new leaders will emerge, outstanding leaders capable of developing and applying, under the new conditions of the future, the Thought of Mao Tse-tung. China is creating millions of little Mao's! Mao Tse-tung is leading his people to understand "No one can be another's mental liberator. Each must do it for himself, by carrying out the revolution to the depths of one's soul. Least of all can it be done by force, coercion or command."(Mao)

Those "specialists in Chinese affairs here"(Hongkong ....ed) who "are inclined to believe that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is at long last becoming a spent force" (NYT 9/1/68) had better be "inclined" toward facts!

Dean Acheson, John Foster Dulles and other State Department strategists have counted on the Chinese Revolution not having successors. The truth is that the Cultural Revolution is not "a spent force" but a redoubled force - seven hundred million people insuring that their revolution **will** have revolutionary successors!

POLITICAL STABILITY IN CHINA

It is no wonder that American readers are puzzled about China today. On the one hand Administration spokesmen and some "experts" tell us "China is in chaos", "China is disrupted", "China is weakened by civil war". On the other hand, Americans see their representatives in Washington planning to spend billions of dollars on an "early warning system" against China - the Anti-Ballistic Missile System.

"On August 1st the Senate approved of a military bill that included $227.3 million for a Sentinel Anti-Ballistic Missile Syatem. This 'thin line' of defence is expected to cost several billion dollars before its completion."(NYT 8/15/68)

"Costing an estimated total of $4-billion to $5-billion dollars, the Sentinel system, as initially described by the Administration, is designed to provide a 'thin' defense of the nation, capable of countering a small scale attack from Communist China."(NYT 10/3/68) "The Senate voted today to give the Pentagon $71.9 billion..the measure containing funds for deployment of a limited antiballistic missile system to protect the nation against nuclear attack from Communist China."(NYT 10/4/68 UPI)

But "they" can't have it both ways - a disintegrated, weakened China and a China strong enough to worry the Pentagon!

Which is it - China weak? or China strong?

Early in 1968 the Christian Science Monitor was telling its readers, "The general authority in Peking, in spite of some Western belief to the contrary, seems to be still intact and functioning."(2/24/68) By mid-September the Monitor was writing, "Nominal authority is restored throughout China; each of the provinces has a revolutionary committee proclaiming loyalty to the center and to Chairman Mao." (9/16/68)

Mao Tse-tung's role as a theoretical leader is established. His role as a political leader is no less outstanding. Western correspondents have indulged in wishful thinking whenever Mao has not appeared at some function in Peking, suggesting that "Mao is sick", "Mao is failing", "Mao is being shoved out of the picture", "Mao is probably dead". But the fact is that time after time when Mao did not appear in public in the capital the Chairman was out in the provinces, seeing for himself the conditions in the country. The latest over-size spate of speculations about Mao's being out of the picture was at the height of the counter-revolutionary activities in 1967; Mao was away from Peking: but where? why? Wrote the New York Times, "Mr Mao gained first hand knowledge about the turmoil in the provinces in a tour of North, Central, South and East China. He coun-

seled against violent struggle in his talks with local officials. He said that if there were problems, negotations could be conducted within the scope of each province."(12/5/67) The Hongkong newspaper, South China Morning Post wrote about "Mao's personal investigation of the troubled situation in North, Central, and and Southeastern parts of the country" and of "Mao's secret trip to the centers in Honan, Hupeh, Kiangsi and Chekiang where turmoil and confusion still prevail." (12/9/67)

In the United States, where no revolutionary forces are challenging the central government, where the people are eager for a chance to have their views noticed, LBJ doesn't dare appear on the streets of our cities or go before an audience that might challenge him! Chairman Mao is not afraid of his people nor is he afraid to face and discuss with counter-revolutionary officials.

China not only has the theoretical leadership of Mao Tse-tung but also the truly participating political leadership of its Chairman - a theoretician and a political leader with almost half a century of world-shaking accomplishment, first of all for the Chinese people, and also for all mankind.

China has a proven leader. She also has a Communist Party which has been through many fires, many rectifications. The latest and most trying fire has been the cultural revolution which put every Party member on the spot. (Leading personnel in all spheres, as well as Party members, were subjected to and subjected themselve selves to critical evaluation.)

In August 1966 the formal communique of the Central Committee of the Party concerning the Cultural Revolution was issued. Point Eight of that Communique was about the Party Cadres: "The cadres fall roughly into the following four categories - good, comparatively good, those who have made serious mistakes but have not become anti-Party, anti-socialist rightists, and the small number of anti-Party, anti-socialist Rightists.....The anti-Party

anti-socialist Rightists must be fully exposed, refuted, overthrown and completely discredited and their influence eliminated; at the same time, they should be given the chance to turn over a new leaf." (emphasis added...ed)

All cadres - good, weak, mistaken, bad - all have been subjected to the evaluation and criticism of the masses. The anti-socialist, capitalist-roaders have been exposed and discredited, refuted and their influence eliminated. But even they, along with those who were merely weak or who made mistakes, have been given the chance to "turn over a new leaf".

A current "Rehabilitation of Cadres Movement" is restoring to the Party those cadres who have been forced by popular criticism to acknowledge their weaknesses, their mistakes, their wrong views and practices. So, instead of the Party being weakened, or disintegrated, as some western critics like to think, the Chinese have the leadership of a strengthened Party, with weaknesses weeded out and members tempered by the cultural revolution.

In addition to the tempering and rectification of the old Party cadres, millions of new cadres have been added to the Party - from the Red Guards and the Red Rebels (adult activists in the cultural revolution): militant, ideologically based, fresh cadres, who too have been tempered in the cultural revolution.

So, with a proven leader whose "faith in the masses" is no empty phrase, with a tempered and strengthened Party of the working people, with a people grounded in an understanding of the socialist nature of their society, it seems fair to figure that the People's Republic of China has a strong political base.

ECONOMIC STABILITY

Contrary to the wishful thinking of some anti-China spokesmen in the United States that there would be peasant resentment against the cultural revolution - resentment that would create food problems and therefore weaken

China - the New York Times wrote, editorially, "The fact that food is still flowing to the cities provides a warning against assuming a complete breakdown in China's internal order." (9/10/67) Far from there being a "complete breakdown" there has been a strengthening of China's internal order.

Food is the basic need of the people and the cultural revolution has not adversely affected China's food supply. In October 1967 the UN Food & Agriculture Organization (FAO) reported, "Red China is producing more food, exporting more rice and eating better than is generally believed."(A/P CSM 10/16/67; SF Chroncile 10/22/67; NYT 11/5/67) The Times went on, "The FAO did not agree with the idea that China's food supplies had been dwindling steadily during recent years." By March 1968 the Times was reporting, "China appears to have had the second best crop in its history last year; grain production is reported to have risen ten million metric tons over 1966."(3/24/68) Newsweek reported, "By all accounts China's seven hundred and fifty million citizens were better fed last year than any one expected; United States officials put the food grain harvest at 200 million tons; China experts say it was even higher, perhaps as high as 220 million tons. They attribute this this to the rapidly expanding use of chemical fertilizer. China's food output may may be increasing faster than its population." (4/8/68 emphasis added...ed)

In September 1968 the New York Times, reporting on the world food situation, said "Communist China, torn by the violence of its cultural revolution, suffered little disruption in food production and made up for a slight drop suffered in 1966. FAO estimates that the Chinese produced 215 million tons of food grain last year, compared with 206 million tons in 1966 and 208 million tons in 1965. Apart from some disruption of the transport of fertilizers and other inputs, the Cultural Revolution does not seem to have interfered with agricultural production. The excellent harvest of 1967 was

officially attributed to favorable weather and to progress in irrigation, drainage and related capital works. (9/13/68)

On this question of food in China it is interesting to note that China is buying wheat on the world market at say $1.85 a bushel and exporting rice at say $2.15 a bushel, thus obtaining additional funds to spur her industrialization. Food production is a big factor in strengthening China's economic base.

Bruce McFarlane, senior instructor in economics at the Australian National University, was in China in 1968; during April and May he traveled in 6 of China's provinces, visited 20 factories, 6 communes, docks, irrigation works, railroad switching yards and universities. Some of his findings are reported in Scientific American of August 1968.

"The Chinese are producing mechanical plows...and also semi-mechanized rice transplanters. The semi-mechanized rice transplanter can do 4 mou a day,, compared with one mou done by a small team transplanting by hand." (McFarlane)

"Production of chemical fertilizers was infinitesimal in 1949; by 1966 it had risen to 7.5 million tons per year. Twenty plants under construction will come into operation in 1968, raising the output to 20 million tons, as a contribution to the estimated need for 25 million tons."(McFarlane)

It is not only in agriculture that progress continued during the cultural revolution, but also in industry. "The Chinese opened up their new pure-oxygen top-blown steel convertor shop. This convertor can produce more steel than 10 open-hearth furnaces of the same kind. In the new Shanghai shop loading, smelting and pouring are all automatically controlled. All the equipment was designed, built and installed by Chinese engineers and workers; and all the instruments, meters and electronic devices were made in China. The construction of the plan started in June 1966 and was

completed early in 1967."(McFarlane..emphasis added...ed) This is what the workers were doing in the early months of the cultural revolution! Automobile construction not only continued but improved during the cultural revolution. "Earlier well-deserved jibes were made at some Chinese automobiles with 'sedans as heavy as a small dump truck'. The Chinese evidently have learned from this mistake; at the 1968 Spring Canton Fair they had on display four more-pleasing models. One, similar to the Fiat, made in Shanghai, weighs 560 kilograms and uses 5 liters of fuel per 100 kilometers. A second'Shanghai'sedan weighs 1.5 tons, uses 9.6 liters per 100 kilometers. The largest, the 'Honqui', an automatic-transmission six seater looked heavier but not as heavy as a truck."(McFarlane)

"Dr C H G Oldham of Sussex University in England, Science Policy Research Unit, points out 'Successes so far have outweighed failures, the most dramatic being the production of nuclear weapons filled with uranium 235. The separation of this uranium isotope from the far more abundant uranium 238, in raw uranium, is an extremely difficult process which in Western countries has been carried out by two methods - gaseous diffusion and electromagnetic separation'. Dr Oldham notes that American intelligence has reported a gaseous diffusion plant near Lanchow. Its heavy demands for electric power could be met by a large near-by hydroelectric dam. However Dr Oldham notes that the Chinese have fired seven nuclear blasts, one of them a hydrogen bomb, and he considers the Lanchow plant too small to furnish fuel for such a program. Hence, he said, in the prepared text of his lecture, the view is 'gaining ground' that the Chinese have perfected the centrifuge technique as a third method for uranium separation. The cultural revolution has handicapped the development of Chinese science in Dr Oldham's view, but has by no means halted it. A major break-through contributed by China, hailed in the United States, was the synthesis of one form of insulin. China has re-

cently completed a large radio telescope" and while the Times may write that "China's rapid success in developing nuclear weaponry has surprised and alarmed western analysts and officials" Dr Oldham stresses, 'The focus is on work relevant to China's immediate developmental needs.'" (NYT 4/21/68)

Western cynics may laugh at the Chinese people "applying the Thought of Mao Tse-tung to their tasks" but it does seem to work. The Chinese people repeatedly demonstrate that this Thought is their great guide, their helmsman, teacher, leader and commander in the struggle to consolidate socialism in China and for socialism elsewhere. McFarlane writes, "The moral incentives aspect has received much more emphasis during the cultural revolution; instead of bribing managers to behave rationally (as in the Liberman scheme in the USSR) the managers are put under pressure to have the 'right' attitude toward society and are subjected to the disciple of the mass meeting."

Not only has there been progress in both agricultural and industrial economy during the cultural revolution, but China's financial situation has stayed steady and improved.

China has no foreign debt. "All of China's international debt was liquidated in 1964"(McFarlane). All internal bonds, with none issued since 1958, were due to be liquidated in 1968.

"Peking can afford to be relatively smug about the present (gold) crisis. Since 1965 it has been preparing for an international economic crisis, steadily converting its reserves into gold. China's trade transactions have been primarily in sterling, but since 1965 it has been buying gold through London representatives." (NYT 3/16/68) Earlier the Monitor had written, "China's gold reserves are now estimated at two billion dollars." (CSM 1/25/68) No foreign and no domestic debt and a sizable reserve of gold!!

There is one big economic problem that China does not have, a problem facing some of her Asian neighbors. The UN Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East annual regional survey "report indicated that the economic consequences of a possible settlement of the war in Vietnam were a problem for some of the countries of the area, particularly Thailand, Nationalist China and South Korea which have benefitted from war expenditures. Recent growth rates in these countries were said to have been fed by demands arising out of the Vietnam war and by the rapid growth in the sales of services to the United States military." (NYT 4/1/68)

China's growth rate is not based on a colonial or neo-colonial economy, such as Thailand, Nationalist China and South Korea have; nor is China's economy spurred by supplying war materials and services (with all their degrading aspects) to an outside exploiting power.

"The Chinese economy grew at about 8% per annum during 1952-1959 and industrial production grew at 21% per annum. But the industrial share of the national product only began to equal the agricultural share in 1959. Since industrial production is now growing at least as fast as it was then, and its share of the national product is probably larger, whereas agricultural production since 1962 has been at least as high as it was in the 1952-1959 period, the over-all rate of growth is now at least 8%. A further supporting fact is that gross investment reached 27% of the gross national product for the first time in 1957, having risen from 19% in 1952. Now it must be running about 27% of gross national product, particularly in view of the fact that all China's international debt was liquidated by 1964. All this suggests that ten years may be too long a 'guesstimate' (Uchida's) in establisging the time-table under which China will attain Japan's current level of economic development. Uchida says 'In ten to fifteen years China might attain a per capita income equal to Japan's present figure ($620).

In that case, China's gross national income would be about 70% as large as that of the United States. How far off is the impending breakthrough for China.' Uchida asks, and concludes 'My own estimate is five to ten years'" (McFarlane)

China's socialist economy is well-based. The activities of the Cultural Revolution, revealing weaknesses and dangers, and involving all the people and strengthening their functional understanding of their basic ideology - Marxism, Leninism, The Thought of Mao Tse-tung - has served to maintain and advance China's socialist economy.

CONCLUSION

What's happening in China? The Chinese people have been and are in the process of strengthening their socialist base and superstructure. The cultural revolution revealed the danger of running off the socialist track, the danger of going on to the bourgeois, the capitalist track. The exposure of this danger and the struggle with the counter-revoutionaries was the work of the people: what an education they have received about the nature of their society and of the possibility of losing the gains of their liberation! The cultural revolution activities brought the people to a sharper functional understanding of their basic philosophy and they have strengthened and deepened the socialist ideological base of their society.

Some chaos and turmoil there was - comparatively small and secondary. What was overwhelming and primary was the profound new and higher socialist unity and organization of the Chinese people. The cultural revolution goes on, on to a new stage. It will go on as long as there are counter-revolutionaries, domestic and foreign, who would water down socialism, who would seek to restore capitalism to China, who would seek to wreck a socialist China.

With a more solidified political base and a steadily advancing economic base, the Chinese people are continuing the process of building a truly socialist society.

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